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SUBJECT: KARDELJ ON KARDELJ

BEGIN SUMMARY: EDVARD KARDELJ'S LATEST BOOK, "TRENDS IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT
DEMOCRACY", HAS JUST BEEN PUBLISHED. WHILE NOT DESTINED TO
BE AN INTERNATIONAL BEST SELLER (THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE ANNOUNCED
THEIR INTENTION TO PUBLISH IT IN "WORLD LANGUAGES") OR ANYWHERE
AS CONTROVERSIAL AS SANTIAGO CARRILLO'S RECENT WORK, KARDELJ'S
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"STUDY" IS NOTEWORTHY FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS. IT IS AN
EXTENSION OF A MAJOR SPEECH HE MADE JUNE 13TH TO THE 30TH
SESSION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE LCY, IN WHICH HE COINED
THE TERM "SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM" TO DEFINE THE YUGOSLAV
SYSTEM. THE SPEECH AND THE RESULTANT BOOK WERE ENDORSED
BY THE PRESIDUM "AS THE BASIS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF THE LCY
IN PREPARATION FOR THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS", WHICH IS

SCHEDULED FOR SPRING OF 1978. THE STUDY PRESENTS A SORT OF MASTER PLAN FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SYSTEM AS IT APPROACHES THE LEVEL OF DEMOCRACY THAT THEY FEEL THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS ALREADY ACHIEVED. KARDELJ'S "STUDY" DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR A TITO-LIKE ROLE AND THUS HIS APPROACH CAN BE SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE A STABLE AND MATURE SYSTEM THAT WILL NOT BE SHAKEN BY THE PASSING OF TITO. HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH THE UPCOMING PARTY CONGRESS IS WIDELY REGARDED AS BEING THE MAIN EVENT WHICH WILL ESTABLISH, AT LEAST, THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSION TO TITO, THE OFFICIAL PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED BY THE CONGRESS AND THE MAIN PROBLEM ADDRESSED BY KARDELJ IS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A HIGHER DEGREE OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

KARDELJ IS TYPICALLY PHILOSOPHIC IN HIS COMMENTS AND DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO DEFINE THE EXACT FORM OF A FUTURE, TRYING "TO INDICATE ONLY SOME POINTS OF DEPARTURE FOR DETERMINING OUR PRACTICAL TASKS CONCERNING THE HARMONIZATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM WITH THE SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS, AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-MANAGEMENT-DEMOCRATIC FORMS". HE DOES ADDRESS A NUMBER OF TOPICS OF INTEREST, I.E. HUMAN RIGHTS, EUROCOMMUNISM AND OTHER POLITICAL SYSTEMS, BOTH EAST AND WEST, FINDING THEM ALL WANTING IN COMPARISON TO "SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM". THERE ARE NOT, HOWEVER, THE RACY CRITICAL REFERENCES TO THE CHINESE OR SOVIET SYSTEMS RUMORED TO BE PRESENT IN EARLY DRAFTS OF THE BOOK.

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ASIDE FROM THIS BRIEF OVERVIEW, WE FEEL THAT POSING KEY QUESTIONS AND THEN ANSWERING THEM USING KARDELJ'S OWN WORDS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WILL GIVE THE MOST ACCURATE IMPRESSION OF THE CONTENT AND MEANING OF THE WORK. END SUMMARY.

1. NATURE OF PLURALISM. WHAT IS THE "PLURALISM" THAT THE YUGOSLAVS ARE STRIVING TO PERFECT? KARDELJ ARGUES THAT ON DIFFERENT ISSUES THERE ARE DIFFERENT CONSTITUENCIES, THAT A SYSTEM BASED ON ONE OR A FEW POLITICAL PARTIES IS NOT FLEXIBLE AND COMPLEX ENOUGH TO ALLOW THESE MANY DIFFERENT CONFIGURATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES. THUS UNDER HIS SYSTEM "SOCIETY IS NO LONGER DIVIDED INTO SOME GENERAL POLITICAL MAJORITY AND POLITICAL MINORITY, OR INTO A PARTY IN POWER AND OPPOSITION. BUT, IN THE DAY-TO-DAY CONCRETE DECISION-MAKING THE WORKING PEOPLE, THE SELF-MANAGERS, ARE FREELY DIVIDED INTO A MAJORITY AND A MINORITY, WHICH ARE FOREVER CHANGING, THAT THEY ARE CHANGING IN CONNECTION WITH EACH INDIVIDUAL QUESTION PUT ON THE AGENDA OF SELF-MANAGEMENT, OR SOCIAL DECISION-MAKING".

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2. ROLE OF PARTY. AS YUGOSLAVIA STRIVES TO ATTAIN
"PLURALIST" DEMOCRACY, WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF
COMMUNISTS? KARDELJ FEELS THAT UNTIL THE SYSTEM REACHES
A MATURE STATE AND THE WORKERS BECOME CONSCIOUS OF
THEIR ROLE AND PERFORM IT NATURALLY, "THE LEAGUE OF
COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA MUST TAKE UPON ITSELF RESPONSIBILITY
FOR KEY POSITIONS... THERE IS NO SERIOUS SOCIAL QUESTION
IN WHICH THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS SHOULD NOT BE INTERESTED
OR ENGAGED. NOW MORE THAN EVER BEFORE IT WOULD BE HARMFUL TO
LIMIT THE ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA ONLY TO
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SOME POLITICAL-PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY OR TO ACTIVITY THROUGH THE STATUE APPARATUS. WHAT IS THE QUESTION HERE IS NOT WHETHER THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT ENTER INTO THE TRENDS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF CONCRETE SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN ALL SHPHERES OF THE SOCIAL LIFE, BUT HOW IT SHOULD ENTER INTO THESE PROBLEMS UNDER CONDITIONS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT BY THE WORKING PEOPLE, THAT IS, HOW IT SHOULD EXERCISE A PROGRESSIVE INFLUENCE ON THE PASSING OF SOCIAL DECISIONS UNDER CONDITIONS WHERE THESE DECISIONS ARE PASSED BY THESE WORKING PEOPLE THEMSELVES." KARDELJ ARGUES STRONGLY AGAINST FURTHER USE OF "INTERNAL DIRECTIVES". HE WANTS THE PARTY TO USE ITS INFLUENCE, BUT INSIDE THE VARIOUS REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AS AN INCREASING EQUAL. AND "WITH THE WEAKENING OF THE POLITICAL ROLE OF ANTI-SOCIALIST AND ANTI-SELF-MANAGEMENT FORCES, WHICH IS OTHERWISE HISTORICALLY INEVITABLE, THAT ELEMENT OF THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM AND THAT SPECIFIC ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS WILL ALSO GET WEAKER AND WILL WITHER AWAY.

3. CRITIQUE OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEMS. WHY NOT STRESS THE NEED FOR A STRONG PARTY OVER THE LONGER-TERM? "WE DO NOT REJECT THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM BECAUSE WE WOULD LIKE TO DENY ITS POSITIVE HISTORICAL ROLE IN ANY RESPECT, BUT BECAUSE IT IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH SOCIAL-ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC RELATIONS OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT OR WITH ITS DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT INTERESTS. IN ADDITION, THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM BECOMES ALL THE MORE SUBJECT TO DEFORMITIES AS IT DRIFTS AWAY FROM THE INITIAL PHASES OF REVOLUTION...AND EVEN TO LARGER EXTENT THAN POLITICAL PLURALISM. IN IT, THERE ABOVE ALL APPEARS A TENDENCY TOWARDS A PERSONAL UNION OF THE SUMMIT OF THE PARTY WITH THE STATE EXECUTIVE APPARATUS AND THUS IT BECOMES AN INSTRUMENT OF THE ACTIVITY OF TECHNOBUREAUCRATIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TENDENCIES IN SOCIETY. IN CASES OF THAT KIND, THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM MAY BECOME A VERY VOLUNTARIST ARBITER FOR THE SOLVING OF SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS AND CONFLICTS. THUS, FROM A WEAPON OF THE CLASS THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM MAY GRADUALLY TURN INTO A WEAPON OF TECHNOBUREAUCRATIC RULE OVER THE CLASS AND SOCIETY. IT WAS ALREADY THE PARIS COMMUNE AND MARX WHO TOOK NOTE OF THAT DANGER, BUT IT WAS NEVER MORE CRUCIALLY PRESENT THAN TODAY, THAT IS, IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIALIST PRACTICE." KARDELJ POINTS HIS FINGER DIRECTLY AT MOSCOW: "IN THE SOVIET UNION STALIN DEVELOPED SUCH A SYSTEM TO ITS ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCE OF THAT SITUATION IN THE SPHERE OF THE MARXIST THEORY DURING DECADES IN THE PAST, WAS A SERIOUS SETBACK IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A..DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM. BUT HE THEN SOFTENS HIS CRITIQUE A BIT. AFTER STALIN'S DEATH, THE SOVIET SOCIETY WITH

A CONSIDERABLE MEASURE OF RADICALISM, LIQUIDATED MANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT SYSTEM, AND THE SYSTEM ITSELF WAS IN A CONSIDERABLE MEASURE DEMOCRATIZED, WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY STRENGTHENS THE INFLUENCE OF THE MASSES ON THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIETY."

4. CRITIQUE OF MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. HAVING REJECTED A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM AS TO STAGNANT AND TOO FRAUGHT WITH POTENTIAL PERILS, WHY HASN'T YUGOSLAVIA TRIED A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM OR WESTERN SYTLE PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY? HERE

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AGAIN KARDELJ ARGUES THAT SUCH SYSTEMS ARE SIMPLY A PHASE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND THAT THEY HAVE PROGRESSED AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO. "AS SOON AS THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT PENETRATES INTO PARLIAMENT TO SUCH AN EXTENT AS TO BE ABLE TO BECOME A FACTOR OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF POWER, THAT IS OF LIMITING OR

ABOLISHING THE CLASS POWER OF OWNERS AND MONOPOLIST MANAGERS
OF CAPITAL AND THEIR POLITICAL EXPONENTS, A WAY OUT IS
IMMEDIATELY SOUGHT IN SOME KIND OF DICTATORSHIP, EITHER OF
FASCIST, MILITARY OR SOME OTHER REACTIONARY TYPE."
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WOULD NOT THE MERGER OF SOCIALISM WITH A PARLIAMENTARY
SYSTEM BREAK THAT SYSTEM OUT OF ITS RUT AND CAUSE IT TO
DEVELOP FURTHER? KARDELJ STATES THAT THIS CANNOT BE THE CASE.
"HERE I DO NOT THINK ONLY OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY WHICH TIED THE
FATE OF SOCIALISM TO THE EMPIRICISM AND PRAGMATISM OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM, BUT ALSO OF THOSE SECTIONS OF THE LEFTIST
INTELLIGENTSIA WHICH CONSIDER THAT SOME KIND OF MERGER OF
PARLIAMENTARIANISM WITH SOCIALISM, THAT IS OF THE POLITICAL
SYSTEM OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND SOCIALIST SOCIAL-ECONOMIC
RELATIONS, IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE TREND OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM." THIS IS AN ILLUSION, HE ARGUES,
AS "THE HISTORICAL TASK OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST SOCIAL FORCES
DOES NOT CONSIST OF MAKING ARTIFICIAL STRUCTURES BY MERGING
SOMETHING THAT CANNOT BE MERGED, BUT IN SEEKING NEW FORMS AND
PAVING NEW PATHS OF DEMOCRACY, WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE
CHANGED RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND CHANGED SOCIAL-ECONOMIC
RELATIONS...THAT ILLUSION ASSUMED ALL THE GREATER STRENGTH
BECAUSE THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIALIST PRACTICE WAS UNABLE TO DEVELOP
MORE RAPIDLY AND MORE BROADLY, NEW FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE
SUCH AS WOULD CORRESPOND TO SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION."
BUT KARDELJ DOES STATE THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S OWN "SYSTEM OF
SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT DEMOCRACY CONTAINS AND MUST CONTAIN
BOTH ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL PLURALISM AND ELEMENTS OF A
ONE-PARTY SYSTEM. THE FORMER HAVE ALREADY, IN A LARGE MEASURE,
BECOME A COMPONENT PART AND A SPECIFIC FORM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT
PLURALISM, WHEREAS THE LATTER ARE RATHER A TRANSITORY REALITY
WHICH IS IMPOSED BY HISTORICAL CONDITIONS."

5. ON EUROCOMMUNISM. WHAT ABOUT EUROCOMMUNISM? ARE NOT THE
COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE FOLLOWING THE CORRECT
PATH TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES? KARDELJ
WOULD ARGUE THAT THEY ARE CORRECT, AS LONG AS THE EXISTING
ORDER WILL ALLOW THEM TO PARTICIPATE FULLY. "THE COMMUNIST
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PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, WHOSE POLICY IS NOW INADEQUATELY
CALLED "EUROCOMMUNISM," ARE UNDOUBTEDLY RIGHT WHEN THEY
CONNECT THEIR POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM WITH THE
DEFENSE OF THE INSTITUTION OF PLURALISM OF POLITICAL
FORCES, BECAUSE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION OF WESTERN

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THIS IS THE ONLY REALISTIC WAY OF
UNIFICATION OF THE FORCES OF THE WORKING CLASS
ITSELF...IT SHOULD BE NECESSARY TO BEAR IN MIND THE
FACT THT THE CONDITION FOR VICTORY OF PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTIONS HAVE DEEPLY CHANGED. IT WAS PRECISELY THE
VICTORIOUS SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS, BEGINNING WITH THE
OCTOBER REVOLUTION ONWARDS, WHICH CREATED CONDITIONS
NECESSARY FOR THE WORKING CLASS TO BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE,
THROUGH SO-CALLED "PEACEFUL METHODS," STRONGER SOCIAL
POSITIONS THAN IT HAD EVER BEFORE. AND THIS FACT, ON
THE ONE HAND, STRENGTHENS THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORKING
CLASS IN SOCIETY, AND ON THE OTHER EXERCISES AN INFLUENCE
ON THE SHAPING OF ITS OWN CLASS OR REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS.
THEREIN LIES ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THE WORKING CLASS UNDER
PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS IN HIGHLY-DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES
AVOID USING METHODS OF FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER. IF THE
COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE TO PAY NO HEED TO THAT CONSCIOUSNESS,
THEY WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE TURNED INTO SECTS WHICH WOULD LOSE THEIR
INFLUENCE IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT." BUT KARDELJ EMPHASIZES
THAT EUROCOMMUNISM IS A CREATURE OF A VERY

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SPECIALIZED SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND THAT IT CAN NOT BE REPEATED ELSEWHERE I.E. IN YUGOSLAVIA OR IN EASTERN EUROPE. "SUCH A POLICY CANNOT BE THE INTERNAL POLICY OF THOSE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN WHICH THE WORKING CLASS HAS WON POWER BY (THE FORCE OF) ARMS, BECAUSE THAT WOULD ONLY LEAD TOWARDS A REVIVAL OF THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER. ...THEREFORE, THERE ARE REASONS FOR US TO DEFEND THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM AND POLITICAL PLURALISM WHEN REACTIONARY FORCES OF THE BOURGEOIS SOCIETY ATTACK IT, BUT THERE ARE NO REASONS WHY WE SHOULD PRESENT THAT SYSTEM AS SOME KIND OF IDEAL

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OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM OF MAN. THERE ARE REASONS FOR US TO SUPPORT THOSE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH HAVE DIRECTED THEMSELVES TOWARDS A STRUGGLE FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS, WITHIN THE SETTINGS OF THE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL PLURALISM, AND WHICH, WITHIN THESE SETTINGS, ARE FINDING THEIR PATHS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM. BUT THERE ARE NO REASONS WHY WE SHOULD PROCLAIM SUCH A PATH AS THE ONLY POSSIBLE OR UNCHANGEABLE PATH TOWARDS DEMOCRACY OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY."

6. ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY. OBVIOUSLY THE SYSTEM THAT KARDELJ DESCRIBES AND THAT ACTUALLY EXISTS IN YUGOSLAVIA IS NOT A DEMOCRACY IN THE SENSE THAT WE KNOW IT. WHAT IS KARDELJ'S CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY? HE WOULD REPLY THAT ONLY THROUGH WORKERS' DIRECT CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND OF THE INCOME FROM PRODUCTION IS REAL POLITICAL POWER IN THE INDIVIDUALS' HANDS. THEREFORE, UNDER CONDITIONS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT, THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF VOTING IN VARIOUS TYPES OF SELF-MANAGING ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITIES, WHERE DECISIONS ARE MADE ON CONCRETE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE OR CITIZENS, HAS A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT ROLE THAN THE CLASSIC UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE." HE DOES AGREE THAT THE WESTERN CONCEPTS OF FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS ARE IMPORTANT: "OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM ALSO GUARANTEES PERSONAL FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS WHICH REFER TO THE PROTECTION OF PHYSICAL INTEGRITY AND HUMAN PERSONALITY, SUCH AS THE RIGHT TO LIVE, THE RIGHT OF MAN TO (BE GIVEN) HUMANE TREATMENT ON THE PART OF THE STATE ORGANS, THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND SETTLEMENT (RESIDENCE), THE RIGHT TO THE INVIOABILITY OF APARTMENTS, ETC., THAT IS, ALL THE COLLECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF MAN, WITHOUT WHICH ANY POLITICAL SYSTEM WHICH CAN BE CALLED DEMOCRATIC, CANNOT EVEN BE IMAGINED...TRADITIONAL POLITICAL FREEDOMS, SUCH AS FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND OTHER FORMS OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC EXPRESSION, FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATIONS, FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND

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PUBLIC UTTERANCE (SPEECH), FREEDOM OF MEETINGS AND OTHER FORMS OF PUBLIC GATHERINGS ALSO ENJOY FULL SOCIAL SUPPORT UNDER OUR SYSTEM."

HOWEVER, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY DO NOT ALWAYS GO HAND IN HAND. "FREEDOM, BY THE VERY NATURE OF THINGS, CANNOT BE AN AIM IN ITSELF. IT ALWAYS TURNS INTO A WEAPON OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CERTAIN SOCIAL AIMS AND INTERESTS. LIKEWISE, LIMITATION OR ABOLITION OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS IS NOT, AS A RULE, AN AIM IN ITSELF, BUT A WEAPON AGAINST THOSE WHO ATTACK THE EXISTING SITUATION, EITHER IN DEFENSE OF REACTIONARY OR DEFENSE OF REVOLUTIONARY POSITIONS. FOR, HOWEVER NICE THE WORDS IN WHICH SOMEONE IS WRAPPING THE NOTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN FREEDOMS MAY BE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESCAPE THE TRUTH THAT DEMOCRACY ITSELF IS A POLITICAL SYSTEM OF AUTHORITY, AND THAT THIS AUTHORITY EXPRESSES A CERTAIN CLASS AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY, AS WELL AS THE RIGHT TO COERCION IN THE NAME OF DEFENSE OF THAT SUTHORITY...IN CONNECTION WITH THE REALIZATION OF RIGHTS IN (OUR SYSTEM), THERE OCCUR CONFLICTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND RESPONSIBLE SOCIAL ORGANS WHICH PROVIDE FOR LAWFULNESS. CONFLICTS OF THAT KIND OCCUR EITHER WHEN THE RIGHTS IN QUESTION ARE MISUSED FOR PURPOSES OF ANTICONSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL ACTION OR WHEN THE RESPONSIBLE ORGANS MAKE MISTAKES IN ASSESSMENTS OF THE IMPORTANCE AND GRAVITY OF SUCH MISUSES. IN ORDER THAT THERE SHOULD BE AS FEW INSTANCES OF THE LATTER KIND AS POSSIBLE, IT IS NECESSARY THAT WE SHOULD BUILD AN APPROPRIATE MECHANISM OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL CONTROL INTO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM ITSELF, AND ALSO THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUOUSLY DEVELOP A CLEAR-CUT POLICY WHICH WOULD BE ADHERED TO BY ALL THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR DECISION-MAKING IN THAT RESPECT. BUT KARDELJ GOES ON TO CAUTION ABOUT THE SPECIFIC SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIS: "ON THE

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OTHER HAND, AN UNDERESTIMATION OF THE POWER OF FORCES HOSTILE TO THE SOCIALIST AND SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AND FAILURE TO GRASP THE METHODS OF THEIR ORGANIZED ACTIVITY MUST BRING ABOUT AN INCREASE OF THE FEELING OF INSTABILITY IN SOCIETY, WAVERING AMONG THE BROADEST MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, AND SERIOUS POLITICAL CRISES IN SOCIETY. WE HAD A SITUATION OF THAT KIND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTIES, AND THERE IS NO NEED TO GIVE ANY SPECIAL PROOFS ABOUT THE DANGER ARISING FROM SUCH TRENDS. AND IT HAS ALMOST BECOME A RULE THAT AFTER SITUATIONS OF THAT KIND, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT DEMOCRACY
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AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS OF MAN IS CONSIDERABLY SLOWED DOWN... AND THIS MEANS THAT COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES WHICH WISH TO IMPOSE ONE FORM OF EXPLOITATION AND SUBORDINATION TO CAPITALIST-OWNERSHIP OR TECHNOBUREAUCRATIC MONOPOLY OR ANOTHER, OR THOSE FORCES WHICH OPPOSE THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION, FREEDOM AND BROTHERLY COOPERATION OF THE PEOPLES AND NATIONALITIES OF YUGOSLAVIA ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, CANNOT HAVE FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTION IN OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY..."

THE FACT THAT IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO PERCEIVE WHAT DOES AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO SOCIETY, AND THAT SOCIETY DOES NOT ALWAYS REACT PROPERLY, ACCOUNTS IN A GREAT MEASURE FOR THE LARGE SWINGS BETWEEN 'LIBERALISM' AND 'CONSERVATISM' THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS TAKEN DURING THE LAST 30 YEARS. "IN THIS CONNECTION, WE MUST BE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT OFTEN IT IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE WHERE THE REAL HOSTILE ACTION OF ANTI-SOCIALIST AND ANTI-SELF-MANAGEMENT FORCES BEGINS,

WHAT ITS REAL DANGER TO SOCIETY IS, WHERE ONLY TRANSITORY WAVERINGS AND SECONDARY NEGATIVE TENDENCIES ARE EXPRESSED AND WHERE A CONFLICT OF OPINIONS AND A SOCIAL CRITICISM, WHICH MUST BE FREE, ARE IN QUESTION. THIS IN ITSELF MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE EXAGGERATIONS IN ONE DIRECTION OR ANOTHER, THAT IS, EITHER IN THE DIRECTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE LIMITATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF OUR WORKING PEOPLE OR IN THE DIRECTIONS OF LIBERALIST ILLUSIONS WHICH PAY NO HEED TO THE REAL RELATIONS OF THE POWER OF SOCIAL FORCES."

7. RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CARTER. COMING EVEN CLOSER TO AN EXPLICIT RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CARTER, KARDELJ STATES: "OF COURSE, CRITICISM OF THE LIMITATIONS OF CERTAIN DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND HUMAN FREEDOMS IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, AND IN CURRENT SOCIALIST PRACTICE, ALSO IS NECESSARY AND JUSTIFIED, FOR NO COUNTRY IS WITHOUT "DEFECTS" AS REGARDS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THESE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. SUCH CRITICISM IS PROGRESSIVE, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT IS DIRECTED AGAINST FACIST AND OTHER SIMILAR REACTIONARY POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE WHICH FAIL TO GUARANTEE THE WORKING MAN AND CITIZEN EVEN THOSE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS WHICH ARE PROVIDED BY THE CLASSICAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM...BUT WHAT DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND WHAT FREEDOM CAN REPLACE THOSE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THOSE FREEDOMS OF MAN WHICH ENABLE HIM--BEING LIBERATED FROM THE SYSTEM OF CLASS EXPLOITATION AND POLITICAL SUBORDINATION TO THE SYSTEM OF A CENTRALIZED STATE--TO PASS DECISIONS BY HIMSELF ON CONDITIONS, MEANS AND FRUITS OF HIS WORK AND CREATIVITY, AND THUS ALSO PASS DECISIONS ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE LIVES AND WORKS? SUCH SELF-MANAGEMENT FREEDOM ALSO PROVIDES FOR FREEDOM OF PERSONAL OWNERSHIP, BUT AN OWNERSHIP WHICH EXPRESSES THE RIGHT OF EVERY CITIZEN TO DISPOSE FREELY OF THE FRUITS OF HIS WORK, AND NOT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S WORK."

"IF THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS IS VIEWED FROM THAT ANGLE, THEN IT IS OBVIOUS THAT CAMPAIGNS FOR SO-CALLED PROTECTION OF HUMAN FREEDOMS--WHEN THEY ARE REDUCED TO THE IMPOSING OF A SYSTEM OF PARTY PLURALISM OR A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM, AND IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER CHAMPIONS OF SUCH CAMPAIGNS ARE AWARE OF IT OR NOT--DO NOT ASSIST THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY, BUT ON THE CONTRARY PREVENT OR LIMIT IT, AND REDUCE IT TO THOSE POLITICAL RIGHTS WHICH ARE RECOGNIZED TO MAN BY BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTARIANISM." KARDELJ ALSO CONTENDS THAT THIS IS ALSO FREQUENTLY A CASE OF THE POT CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK. HERE HE REFERS TO U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN HANDLING OF YUGOSLAVIA-ORIENTED TERRORISM: "THIS CAN SERVE TO INTERPRET THE FACT THAT--ALLEGEDLY IN THE NAME OF THE PROTECTION OF DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS--VERY AUTHORITATIVE FOREIGN SUPPORT IS ENJOYED BY YUGOSLAV EMIGRANT FASCIST-TERRORIST GROUPS, ABOUT WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS WHAT QUISLING AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ROLE THEY PLAYED DURING

WORLD WAR II AND WHAT KIND OF DARK FATE THEY WOULD PREPARE FOR
THE DOMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN
YUGOSLAVIA IF THEY WERE TO SEIZE POWER." FINALLY, KARDELJ
ARGUES THAT A HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN IF PRESSED TO FAR, COULD
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RESULT IN A DETERIORATION OF DETENTE AND AN INCREASE IN WORLD
TENSIONS.
WORTZEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
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Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
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Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Format: TEL
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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
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TAGS: OVIP, YO, US, (KARDELJ, EDVARD)
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